

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6589

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR EARLE'S STATEMENT OF AUGUST 3, 1977

(SALT TWO - 1320)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR EARLE
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF AUGUST 3, 1977:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR EARLE

AUGUST 3, 1977

MR. MINISTER:

I

ON JUNE 14 THE UNITED STATES DELGATION ADDRESSED THE
ISSUE OF DUAL-CAPABLE LAUNCHERS--THAT IS, LAUNCHERS WHICH
ARE CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH ICBMS AND BALLISTIC MISSILES
OF LESS THAN ICBM RANGE. SPECIFIC REFERENCE WAS MADE TO
THE SOVIET DEVELOPMENT OF A LAUNCHER WHICH, BASED ON
NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES TO
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BE DUAL-CAPABLE. THE PROPOSALS OF THE SOVIET DELGATION
ON JULY 1 AND JULY 26 WERE A POSITIVE STEP TOWARD RECOGNITION
OF THE CONCERN OF THE UNITED STATES OVER THE GENERAL
QUESTION OF DUAL CAPABILITY; HOWEVER, THIS CONCERN STILL
REMAINS.

ACCORDINGLY, TODAY I SHALL AGAIN ADDRESS THE SPECIFIC

ISSUE OF THE SOVIET LAND-MOBILE LAUNCHER WHICH, BASED ON NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, THE UNITED STATES STILL CONSIDERS TO BE CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING BOTH SS-20 IRBMS AND SS-16 ICBMS. I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES VIEWS THIS ISSUE AS A PROBLEM WHICH IS SEPARATE AND DISTINCT FROM THE GENERAL QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS AND THEIR LIMITATION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

II

ON JUNE 21 AND JULY 26, THE SOVIET DELEGATION, IN RESPONSE TO STATEMENTS BY THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION, SAID THAT THE LAUNCHER IN QUESTION WAS NOT CAPABLE OF LAUNCHING ICBMS--AND YOU'VE REAFFIRMED THIS TODAY-- BUT IT DID NOT ADDRESS THE VERIFIABILITY OF THAT ASSERTION. THE SOVIET DELGATION DID MAKE REFERENCE TO "TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES" WHICH WOULD NOT PERMIT THE LAUNCHER ASSOCIATED WITH THE SS-20 IRBM TO BE USED FOR LAUNCHING THE SS-16 ICBM. HOWEVER, AS THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION HAS POINTED OUT PREVIOUSLY, THE TECHNICAL CAPABILITIES WHICH ARE KNOWN TO US ARE SUCH THAT THE LAUNCHER APPEARS TO BE DAUL-CAPABLE. THE SITUATION IS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS UNDERTAKEN MEASURES AT THE TEST RANGE TO CONCEAL THE ASSOCIATION OF SS-16 ICBMS WITH THEIR LAUNCHERS.

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FURTHER, THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS STATED THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF THIS ISSUE BY THE UNITED STATES IS AIMED AT OBTAINING UNILATERAL ADVANTATE. THIS IS NOT SO. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT ARMS MUST BE INCLUDED OR EXCLUDED FROM THE LIMITATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ACTUAL CAPABILITIES--NOT BY UNILATERAL DESIGNATION OF THEIR PRUPOSE WHICH IS NOT VERIFIABLE BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

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III

THE SIDES AGREE THAT ICBM LAUNCHERS WILL BE SUBJECT TO THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, IF A LAUNCHER HAS THE CAPABILITY TO LAUNCH AN ICBM IT MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE, REGARDLESS OF ITS OTHER CAPABILITIES OR USES. WITH RESPECT TO THE LAUNCHER IN QUESTION, THE UNITED STATES INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER ANY VERIFIABLE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH THE SOVIET SIDE MIGHT PROPOSE TO UNDERTAKE WHICH WOULD ENABLE THE UNITED STATES TO BE ASSURED THAT LAUNCHERS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SS-20 IRBM CANNOT ALSO BE USED TO LAUNCH ICBMS. INASMUCH AS THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS NOT RESPONDED TO OUR SUGGESTION FOR VERIFIABLE ARRANGEMENTS--AND I UNDERSTAND YOUR STATEMENT THIS MORNING TO REAFFIRM THAT LACK OF RESPONSE--THERE REMAINS UNRESOLVED THE ISSUE OF THE CAPABILITY OF THE LAUNCHER UNDER DISCUSSION TO LAUNCH ICBMS AND IN PARTICULAR TO LAUNCH THE SS-16 ICBM.

THEREFORE, IN THE CONTEXT OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR PARAGRAPH 8 OF ARTICLE IV, THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT, IN THE NEW AGREEMENT TO LAST THROUGH 1985,
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THE SOVIET UNION AGREE TO BAN THE FURTHER TESTING AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS116 ICBM AND TO BAN ALL PRODUCTION OF SS-16 ICBM COMPONENTS. ACCEPTANCE OF THIS PROPOSAL BY THE SOVIET UNION WOULD ALLAY THE CONCERNS OF THE UNITED STATES AND WOULD OBTAIN THE NEED TO INCLUDE THE LAUNCHERS OF THE TYPE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SS-20 IRBM IN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

IV

AS I INDICATED EARLIER, THE ISSUE OF THE DUAL-CAPABILITY OF THE LAND-MOBILE LAUNCHER ASSOCIATED WITH THE SS-20 IRBM IS SEPARATE AND DISTINCT FROM THE UNITED STATES POSITION

ON MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS. THE PROPOSED BAN ON THE FURTHER TESTING AND ON THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS-16 ICBM AND ON THE PRODUCTION OF ITS COMPONENTS IS A SOLUTION TO THE SPECIFIC PROBLEM OF THE LAUNCHER UNDER DISCUSSION. THE GENERAL QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS MUST BE DEALT WITH SEPARATELY. THE UNITED STATES VIEWS ON THIS QUESTION WERE PRESENTED IN THE PLENARY MEETING OF JULY 29.

V

MR. MINISTER, THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

EARLE

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